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Appropriation and the Art of the Copy

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Selective Bibliography

Appropriation and the Art of the Copy

By Elizabeth Mix

This essay focuses on why and how copying occurs within the field of visual art and identifies shifts in the perception of the role of copying over time as indicated by changing terminology. Copies are ubiquitous in our culture today. They are especially prevalent on the Internet in the form of mash-ups and memes. While appropriation (the quoting or borrowing of an earlier artist's work or style) is generally considered a postmodern strategy, the practice has, in fact, a long and complicated history that includes the tradition of academic copying (a method of artistic training whereby students copy the works of masters) as well as the history of art forgery. The development of technology that made copying easier, notably photography, and more recently digital editing programs such as Photoshop, has altered the perception of the copy in relation to so-called "original" artwork. A gradual acceptance of multiple originals—common in printmaking, photography, and digital media, but also in the history of sculpture—also contributed to the evolution of artistic and social views on copying. Cultural appropriation (borrowing across cultures) and transcultural appropriation (back-and-forth or multiple levels of cultural exchange) are important parallel developments. During the colonial period, works from China, Japan, and Africa influenced Western artists now considered to be the paragons of the avant-garde (e.g., Édouard Manet, Vincent van Gogh, and Pablo Picasso). Colonialism also shaped museum collections around the world as functional and sometimes sacred objects were acquired and reclassified as art. In the postcolonial period, artists from colonized and colonizing cultures wrestled with this history—at this writing, this latter development is ongoing.

Given the scope of the topic outlined above, this essay cannot claim to be a comprehensive examination of all aspects of copying; specifically, the legal aspects, which are extensive and deserve a separate study, have been omitted. Also mostly absent are references to parallel phenomena in literature, music, film, and television. Due to considerations of length for the essay and the prevalence of intentional quoting of past artists since the 1960s, only a small number of individual contemporary artists who made specific contributions to the changing perception of copying have been included. Consultation of the sources included in this essay, however, will provide access to additional materials that are regrettably absent. The essay is divided chronologically into two sections. The first, "Copying prior to 1960," the decade when the perception of copying began to shift dramatically, includes these subsections: "Copies in the Academy," "Fakes and Forgeries," "Technology-Aided Copying and the Multiple Original," "Copying as Homage before 1960," "Cultural and Transcultural Appropriation in the Colonial Period," and "Marcel Duchamp and the Conceptual Shift of the Copy." The Second, "Copying after 1960" includes "Copying as Activism," "Copying as Homage Post-1960," and "Cultural and Transcultural Appropriation in the Postcolonial Period."

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Part I: Copying prior to 1960

Copies in the Academy

Official government-sponsored art schools in Europe such as the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and the Royal Academy in London are known by the general term "Academy"; work produced through these organizations at the end of the nineteenth century is frequently termed "Academic Art," especially to distinguish it from work produced and displayed outside the confines of the Academy, namely Impressionism and the avant-garde movements that followed it. Artists trained in these academies studied the work of previous artists and created copies of them as a method of learning specific techniques, such as creating the illusion of three-dimensional space or effective compositional strategies. Two collections of essays provide an orientation to academic practices: Paul Binski and Marcia Pointon's *National Art Academies in Europe 1860-1906: Educating, Training, Exhibiting* treats academic practices in Britain, France, Spain, Germany, and Brussels, while Rafael Denis and Colin Trodd's *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century* positions the

academic tradition against the avant-garde movements, demonstrates the connection of the academy to national identity, and documents the exclusion of women from the academies. An essay by Paul Duro in the latter book identifies multiple kinds of imitation that occurred in the academy and explains the tradition of copying and the pedagogy that supported this practice.

The most complete primary source for the description of the practice in France is found in Gerald Ackerman's full translation of the nineteenth-century *Charles Bargue Drawing Course*, which was intended as a practical handbook for academic artists. It illustrates academic training, which included copies of plaster casts of sculptures and drawings by master artists. The British equivalent, Charles Lock Eastlake's *Methods and Materials of Painting of the Great Schools and Masters*, originally published in 1847 as *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, is less a practical guide than a historical survey of techniques. More contemporary reflections on the academic practice of the copy are found in Carl Goldstein's *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers* and Albert Boime's *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, both of which devote a chapter to the academic copy. Boime explains that copying was part of the development of the artist and a practice encouraged by governments that ran the academy and commissioned copies from students and masters. Copying was seen as requiring significant skill in the choice of the model, analysis of the design, and technique. Sketched copies ranged from expressive (and therefore seemingly unfinished) to highly detailed drawings. Over time, sketch-copies that revealed the copying artist's hand became more valued by the artists and collectors than more literal copies.

Dean Larson's *Studying with the Masters: Lessons from Rubens, Velásquez, Turner, Degas, Monet, Sargent, Matisse* demonstrates the continuation of the academic practice of copying today. Larson intends this how-to manual to transmit academic practice to a younger generation of artists. After stressing how copying trains the eye and the hand, Larson analyzes the materials (pigments, brushes, and varnishes), surfaces (panel and canvas), and techniques of his chosen artists, providing step-by-step instructions to create copies based on a specific stylistic focus (e.g., Peter-Paul Ruben's three-dimensional form, J. M. W. Turner's light, Henri Matisse's color, and Edgar Degas's composition). The final chapter encourages the reader-artist to take what has been taught through the copying exercises to foster development of personal style. This too was part of the tradition of the academic copy discussed above—its purpose was never to slavishly copy, but to truly learn techniques from the masters that would aid a student's development of a personal artistic style.

Alfred Moir, in *Caravaggio and His Copyists*, demonstrates that beyond the academic practice of copying, study of this tradition can serve a wider purpose. He traces as many copies of Caravaggio as possible, answering questions about where, how, when, and why these copies were made; who made them; and how they were acquired by particular collectors and museums. He asserts that copies are a means of authenticating paintings by Caravaggio, explaining that were they not by the artist, no one would have bothered copying them. He also notes that copies reveal trends in tastes that developed among collectors. Included are translations in medium—from paintings to drawings and prints—and also what Moir terms "variants"—copies with slight or significant changes in composition from the original, including reversals and mixing of inspirational works. The bulk of this book consists of an appended list of copies Moir located, along with extensive notes regarding their provenance and literary sources for the subjects Caravaggio treated that inspired the most copies.

Fakes and Forgeries

Unlike the academic copy, which, in addition to having an educational purpose, was usually clearly identified as such and included the name of the artist being copied in its title, the intent of a forgery is deception for monetary gain. Much literature on the topic focuses on the identification of forgeries: Frank Arnau's *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques* and the extensive exhibition in 1990 at the British Museum of London *Fake? The Art of Deception*, by Mark Jones, provide examples from all art and design disciplines from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, including works from China and Japan. This catalogue dedicates a chapter each to how fakes are fabricated and the means by which they are exposed. It is arranged around two central questions: what exactly constitutes a fake, and why are they produced? Copies termed imitations and replicas complicate the answer to the former question, as well as instances when legitimate copies are later misrepresented, or extensive restoration of a work has crossed a line to compromise the integrity of the original. The answer to the second question, why are they produced, is similarly complex. Beyond the obvious intent to deceive for personal economic gain at the expense of supportive structures that suffer financial losses when fakes are exposed (e.g., the art market, critics, and connoisseurs), there are also important emotional factors. Nostalgia and religious and scientific beliefs have supported environments where forged religious relics and the Piltdown Man (the faked "missing link") were readily accepted by large numbers of people who benefitted psychologically or emotionally rather than financially. Other reasons for copying, such as the academic practice mentioned above and the "homage" purpose detailed below, are also treated.

Also in this vein is *De main de maître: L'artiste et le faux*, a collection of essays published from a conference held at the Louvre in 2004, which focused on establishing authenticity from the point of view of connoisseurship and art criticism. Sculptural multiples—self-produced copies by the artists Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, Jacques-Louis David, Georges La Tour, Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, and Henri Matisse—and the cultural economies that support forgeries are also addressed. While the focus is primarily on visual art, literature and music are also treated in this volume. Thierry Lenain, in *Art Forgery: The History of a Modern Obsession*, asserts that art forgery is a modern phenomenon, meaning that many earlier instances of imitation, for instance, of Romans copying Greek sculptures, could not legitimately be termed forgery. Thierry explores the economic and aesthetic paradoxes forgery exposes and examines the defenses that forgers mounted when caught and the psychological effect that a supposedly "rare" object wields.

Two exhibitions placed copies and originals side-by-side for comparison: *Copies as Originals, Translations in Media and Techniques* at Princeton University in 1974 promoted the value of copies. Students in the department of art and archaeology under the direction of Rona Goffen and David Steadman researched the university collection, including works by Michelangelo, Peter Paul Rubens, and John Trumbull, and wrote essays treating an original and one or more copies, focusing on what elements from the original are retained in the copy and what

elements reveal the individual characteristics of the copier. *Fakes and Forgeries*, held at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1973, specifically challenged viewers to study original objects and copies (legitimate and not) side by side, with the premise that close looking would allow viewers to determine the original and learn more generally how to discern artistic quality.

Other texts focus more closely on the forger. Ian Haywood's *Faking It: Art and the Politics of Forgery* is primarily focused on literature, but has a chapter on the Piltdown Man as well as two examples focusing on forgers who held grudges against critics and the art market: Hans van Meegeren, a Dutch artist who forged Vermeer, and the British painter Tom Keating, who forged Samuel Palmer. Haywood puts these men's work into the context of the development of the art market, in which lesser works by "masters" were worth more than excellent works by relative unknowns. He also explains how the academic training of artists and the workshop environment initiated by Rubens in the seventeenth century contributed to the acceptance of this practice. Haywood summarizes several other examples in his footnotes, including two forgers of Renaissance works, Giovanni Bastianini and Alceo Dossena.

Anita Moscowitz treats Bastianini's case in incredible depth in *Forging Authenticity: Bastianini and the Neo-Renaissance in Nineteenth-Century Florence*. Bastianini's biography is treated in detail, revealing both the extent and nature of his training, which was legitimate until his apprenticeship with Giovanni Freppa, who played on the young artist's lack of knowledge of the art market and paid him well to create what Bastianini believed were legitimate copies, but were later turned into forgeries through their sale. Moscowitz explains the specific cultural conditions that made Renaissance work ripe for forgery in the nineteenth century. While the development of neoclassicism contributed generally, in Italy a nationalistic drive fueled by the Risorgimento (a movement to unify the city-states) recast Italian Renaissance work in the context of nationalist pride. Museums and private collectors alike contributed to increased demand. Genuine Renaissance artists like Michelangelo contributed to the long history of copying classical sculptures, giving the practice a measure of legitimacy. Moscowitz's work demonstrates how the perception of Bastianini's level of complicity changed over time as successive art historians and connoisseurs embellished his story.

Henk Tromp uses a sociological approach in *A Real Van Gogh: How the Art World Struggles with Truth*. Rather than seeking to expose which van Gogh paintings are real and which are fake, Tromp examines the attitudes of twentieth-century van Gogh experts including Vincent Willem van Gogh (nephew and heir to the vast collection that formed the basis of the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam) and Jacob Baart de la Faille (who compiled the catalogue raisonné for the famous artist), who, after he discovered dozens of fakes were included in his initial version, struggled to redress the error. While both men promoted their work as a search for truth, they wielded incredible power—when a fake (herein defined as an incorrect attribution to van Gogh) was exposed, both the expert who authenticated it and the owner of the work suffered incredible negative financial consequences.

Other texts delve more deeply into larger cultural phenomena that are revealed in the study of fakes and forgery. An excellent example is Aviva Briefel's *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, which explores the gendered relationship among copyists, forgers, collectors, connoisseurs, and art restorers. Briefel uses primary sources to expose gender dynamics inherent in some aspects of the subject. Women were called copyists; males were called forgers; forged objects were considered female—the power relationship and social implications revealed by the choice of these terms is examined carefully. Briefel shows that while in the nineteenth century women were generally excluded from forgery, they participated by wearing "paste" jewelry. Throughout her text, Briefel uses literature (e.g., Henry James and Guy de Maupassant) to help demonstrate the larger cultural rootedness of these gendered concepts.

Technology-Aided Copying and the Multiple Original

Artists have always employed different types of technology to aid them in creating realistic depictions of nature, from the grinding of pigments into color to mathematical methods of enlarging images by placing a grid on top of preparatory drawings. Sculptors employed a parallel system to enlarge their maquettes (three-dimensional sketches) and sometimes produce multiple originals of their sculptures. The French sculptor Auguste Rodin is credited as being the first to issue sculptures in editions, a phenomenon that originated with printmaking. Of the many books on this artist, three are notable for their discussions of Rodin's sculptural editions as well as the challenges posed in authenticating them: Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, *The Bronzes of Rodin*; John Tancock, *The Sculpture of Auguste Rodin: The Collection of the Rodin Museum, Philadelphia*; and Kirk Varnedoe et al., *Rodin: A Magnificent Obsession*.

Printmaking and photography led to the ability to create multiple originals and multiple copies.

Two specific technologies, printmaking and photography, led to the ability to create multiple originals and multiple copies with relative ease compared to sculptural processes. Eventually the two technologies were combined to make photographic reproductions. Both of these fields are vast, and so only a few texts on each can be included here. Michel Melot's *Prints: History of an Art* provides an excellent introduction to the processes, functions, and aesthetics of printmaking from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Bamber Gascoigne's *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet* is an excellent book to help viewers determine the different print processes through careful viewing. Linda Hults, in *The Print in the Western World: An Introductory History*, provides a chronological survey of technical, formal, and socioeconomic implications of printmaking from the Renaissance to 1980; extensive bibliographies at the end of each chapter make this volume an excellent choice for expanding the reader's knowledge on the subject.

The idea that the medium of printmaking directly informs the message it delivers to an audience was advanced by William Ivins in *Prints and Visual Communication*, which asserted that prints supplemented and even

supplanted texts as vehicles for information. The exhibition *Imagined Worlds: Willful Invention and the Printed Image 1470-2005*, curated by Amy Sandback, is an extension of Ivins's ideas, envisioning not only the force that prints exerted on the shaping of cultural ideas, but also the reciprocal role that culture played in the creation of prints. The social function of multiple images is explored in more depth by A. Hyatt Mayor in *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures*, while the market forces underpinning technological advances in printing is explored by Chandra Mukerji in *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism*.

The vast history of photography is treated chronologically by Naomi Rosenblum in *A World History of Photography* and thematically by Michel Frizot in *A New History of Photography*. Photography affected the ability to copy beyond its inherent technology. Nineteenth-century academic painters in particular began to substitute photographs in place of live models in a money-saving move that inevitably changed the trajectory of modern art. Van Deren Coke demonstrates artists' uses of the photograph from Eugène Delacroix to Andy Warhol in *The Painter and the Photograph*. The stylistic impact of the transformation may not have been understood by the artists themselves—the medium of photography inherently flattened space, undoing the careful perspective that had been prized in European art since the Renaissance, something that Manet's critics identified quickly. Artists in the nineteenth century generally concealed their use of photography, but Pascal Dagnan Bouveret retained documentation of the process in each stage, from original photograph to composite to finished painting, as explained by Gabriel Weisberg in *Against the Modern: Dagnan-Bouveret and the Transformation of the Academic Tradition*.

Copying as Homage before 1960

Artists copy one another for a number of reasons. Some artists wish to have an apprenticeship with an artist who is no longer alive—this reason is the closest to the traditional use of the copy for the purpose of academic training discussed previously in this essay. Vincent van Gogh, who had little formal training, copied the work of Eugène Delacroix, Jean-François Millet, and Japanese prints by Ando Hiroshige and Keisai Eisen. Pablo Picasso, who was trained in the academy, nevertheless had posthumous apprenticeships with Eugène Delacroix, Edouard Manet, and Diego Velasquez. In *The Copy Turns Original: Vincent van Gogh and a New Approach to Traditional Art Practice*, Cornelia Homburg discusses copying in the academic curriculum and, in the wake of the Impressionist and Postimpressionist break from the academy, the role of the copy in these changed contexts. She then explains van Gogh's copies of Delacroix, Rembrandt, and Millet, and the reasons he chose each of these artists to emulate through copies. Also treated is the reception of van Gogh's copies; limited attention is given to other artists who copied, which Homburg uses to legitimize van Gogh's practice—Paul Cézanne, Odilon Redon, Paul Gauguin, the Nabis, and Picasso. Orlindo Pereira's essay "The Role of Copying in van Gogh's Oeuvre and Illness" in *Van Gogh 100*, edited by Joseph Masheck, tracks the copies into the artist's specific periods and argues that the copies may have been a way to soothe his mental illness. *Picasso and the Spanish Tradition*, edited by Jonathan Brown, is a book of essays treating Picasso's interactions with Spanish masters, including the influence of El Greco on his Blue Period, the Spanish baroque *vanitas* effect on his still life paintings, and his posthumous relationship with Velasquez, which included multiple reinterpretations of *Las Meninas*. Gertje Utley's essay shows how the borrowings vacillated between Picasso's Spanish nationalism and his adopted France.

Cultural and Transcultural Appropriation in the Colonial Period

Cultural appropriation refers to borrowing that occurs across cultures. Thorstein Veblen coined the phrase in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, and applied it to products obtained through international trade and colonialism. Veblen stated that physical, spiritual, aesthetic, or intellectual desires were satisfied through appropriation of foreign cultures. He identified "useful things" as appropriated when they are "not owned by the person who appropriates and consumes them."[1] Implicitly, though, he expressed the idea that the ability to appropriate was one of the benefits afforded specifically to a ruling class, who in Veblen's time benefitted from the spoils of colonized Native Americans. Edward Said in his seminal 1978 text *Orientalism* added "repressions, investments and projections" to the reasons cultures were appropriated in the colonial period.[2] The term "cultural appropriation" can be used to describe a wide variety of artistic styles, including chinoiserie, described brilliantly by Oliver Impey in *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration*, the Egyptian taste that informed the Neoclassicism of Jacques-Louis David (as a result of Napoleon's campaign into Africa); and Japonisme (the taste for things Japanese), which profoundly influenced Impressionism, Postimpressionism, Art Nouveau, and indeed the entire trajectory of modern art, on which there is a substantial body of scholarship, including Siegfried Wichmann's *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art since 1858*.

When artists who practiced Japonisme appropriated from Japanese works of art, they worked referentially by adopting formal characteristics, such as form lines, flat color, cropping, shifting perspective, and also specific subject matter, including actors, women in domestic situations (including courtesans), and landscapes. Critics such as Champfleury, and notably Philippe Burty, tried to find, and occasionally "invented," stylistic similarities such as asymmetry, movement, and color as a way to promote Japanese art as similar to yet different from French art. The role of critics, collectors, and exhibitions in popularizing this practice is traced in Klaus Berger's *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse*. Berger illustrates Japanese influences on Manet, Degas, James McNeill Whistler, Gauguin, Cezanne, Georges Seurat, van Gogh, and James Ensor and identifies a second wave of Japonisme in the work of Mary Cassatt, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, the Nabis, Paul Signac, and Aubrey Beardsley. The latter portion of the book treats Japanese prints collected by Western museums in America and Europe, and Japonisme's effect on design reform, including Art Nouveau.

Several important exhibitions organized by Gabriel Weisberg furthered scholarly understanding of the effect of Japonisme over the past three decades. *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910* placed into context the Japanese sources available to French nineteenth-century printmakers and decorative artists. The catalogue includes Japanese source books, illustrated books, print types; specific Japanese prints owned by collectors who called themselves Japonistes; and French printmakers who were influenced by them (Félix Bracquemond, Manet, James Tissot, Whistler, and Degas from 1854 to 1882; and Odilon Redon, Félix

Vallotton, Mary Cassatt, Paul Gauguin, Paul Ranson, Edvard Munch, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and Théophile Steinlen from 1883 to 1910). Smaller sections are devoted to later publications on Japanese art (including *Artistic Japan*), its influence on French painting (including Claude Monet, Gauguin, and van Gogh), and French decorative arts. *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts 1876-1925* (coauthored by Julia Meech) documents how Japanese works influenced American artists Henry P. Bowie, Helen Hyde, Bertha Lum, Charles Hovey Pepper, Arthur Wesley Dow, Edna Bois Hopkins, Frank Lloyd Wright, B. J. O. Nordfeldt, Elizabeth Colwell, Alice Ravenal Huger Smith, Alvin Langdon Coburn, and Arnold Genthe. In 2011, Weisberg pushed the dialogue even further in *The Orient Expressed: Western Art and Influence of Japan, 1854-1918*; the essays included in this volume began to link the phenomenon of nineteenth-century Japonisme backward to chinoiserie, the earlier influence of Chinese art on eighteenth-century rococo, and forward to consider it specifically as cultural appropriation.

The type of borrowing today called appropriation began with the readymades of Marcel Duchamp.

James O. Young, in *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts*, defined different types of cultural appropriation, focused not on the method of appropriation, but rather the nature of the original, which he determines to comprise the style, motif or subject appropriated, or, in the case of an artifact removed from the original culture, the actual physical object. The case of the so-called Elgin marbles, housed in the British Museum but removed from the Parthenon in Greece in 1802 by Lord Elgin, and the large number of Egyptian sculptures residing in the Louvre in Paris that were acquired under Napoleon, typify this type of object appropriation. Greece and Egypt have long fought to have these culturally important artifacts returned. This type of appropriation is particularly problematic because the colonizer appropriates the cultural artifact as an act of power and the subsequent display of functional cultural objects as art devalues their original significance. Deborah Root, in *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation and Difference* focuses on the colonization of North and South America, documenting the recontextualization of such objects. Root extends the list to include the land taken from Native Americans, the use of textile patterns during some periods of Western fashion, the depiction of Native Americans in tourism advertisements, and the entire New Age movement, which Root sees as an appropriation of Native spiritual practices.

The term "transcultural appropriation," as described by Gerardo Mosquera in "Stealing from the Global Pie: Globalization, Difference and Cultural Appropriation," describes back-and-forth or multiple levels of cultural exchange. The Japanese prints and objets d'art as well as the underlying religious practices that fueled Japonisme contained cultural appropriations from China. At the same time, the prints stimulating Japonisme were showing the influence of Western art as a result of the longstanding trade with The Netherlands, as explored by Kaufmann and North, *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*. Similarly "Blue and White" porcelain came to be associated with China, Japan, and Holland through the fabrication practices of the Dutch East India Company, as detailed by C. G. A. Jörg in *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* and Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelains for the Dutch Golden Age*. Transcultural appropriation between France and Africa is treated in the twenty-two essays in Wesley Johnson's *Double Impact: France and Africa in the Age of Imperialism*. Divided thematically, art and architecture are treated among literature, economics, politics, education, race relations, and prejudice from the perspective of the French colonialists and the Africans who were colonized. An essay by Gerard Le Coat explains how African art objects made their way to France and profoundly influenced the work of Pablo Picasso, Amadeo Modigliani, and many others. Marian Johnson, who argues that European patronage influenced African craftsmanship and aesthetics, addresses influence in the other direction.

Marcel Duchamp and the Conceptual Shift of the Copy

The type of borrowing today called appropriation began with the readymades of Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968). After directly witnessing the carnage of war, Duchamp felt that art was frivolous in comparison and created a number of appropriated works he presented as examples of "anti-art" or an "anti-aesthetics." He and other artists who were part of the short-lived Dada movement believed that the random accident held more weight than the studied perfection of academic art, and that an artist's conceptual repurposing of an existing object was a valid form of creation. Duchamp conceived of several terms for his art. The readymade is an object repurposed by the artist without manipulation; for example, Duchamp's *Bottlerack* is a rack used to dry bottles; Duchamp merely placed that object into a different context. A readymade-aided work, however, has been manipulated by the artist in some way. In *Bicycle Wheel and Stool* two objects are combined so that neither can function as originally designed. This work not only pioneered kinetic sculpture (sculpture that moves), it also extended and reversed the idea of "art for art's sake"—the claim that art did not need to serve a specific purpose or educate its public, it could simply "be." By extension, the lack of function (in the wheel and the stool) could indicate the presence of art. Duchamp further played with the idea of function versus art in a third type that he identified only in theory—the reciprocal readymade—a Rembrandt painting used as an ironing board.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Duchamp's significance was rewritten as a younger generation of artists, notably Neo-Dadaists Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns, began to use the found object not as "anti-art," but rather to prove that anything could be art if the artist said it was. Today both interpretations of Duchamp's contribution to the history of art have an influence on appropriation art. While the scholarship on Duchamp's contribution is vast, a few texts specifically address his role in shifting the perception of the copy from a mechanical process to a conceptual act. It is not surprising that these texts take a deeply theoretically approach to the subject. Stephen Bury in *Artists' Multiples, 1935-2000* uses as his theoretical foundation Walter Benjamin's 1936 essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical

Reproduction," having recognized the fact that Benjamin was writing just after Duchamp published an unsigned edition of his *Rotoreliefs*. While multiples appeared earlier, Bury is most interested in linking Duchamp's readymades and language jokes to trends in the 1960s—Pop Art, Fluxus (a performative revival of Dada soirées), Joseph Beuys's felt pieces, minimalist serial works, conceptual works with serial elements, and contemporary works by Jeff Koons, Damian Hirst, Tracy Emin, Jake and Dinos Chapman, and dozens of others.

Rosalind Krauss and Thomas Tucker approach Duchamp through the lens of philosopher Jacques Derrida. Krauss, in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, deconstructs the myth of originality. She shows how the avant-garde formed itself on a sense of repetition, which Krauss connects to the use of the grid by 1960s minimalists. Krauss interprets Duchamp's and Warhol's appropriations differently than those of Jeff Koons, whom she terms a plagiarist. Tucker, in *Derridada: Duchamp as a Readymade Construction*, interweaves the work of Jacques Derrida and Duchamp to reveal the artist as deconstructionist. Derrida's concepts of deconstruction are applied to Duchamp's works *The Large Glass* and *Bicycle Wheel and Stool*, and his concept of *différence* is applied to Duchamp's works that included verbal puns as well as his adoption of a feminine alter ego named Rrose Sélavy (pronounced Eros, c'est la vie). Most of the essays and interviews in Martha Buskirk and Mignon Nixon's *The Duchamp Effect* were originally published in *October*, widely appreciated as an important venue for theoretically driven scholarship. The introduction by Hal Foster discusses the influence of Duchamp and the theoretical landscape against which it developed (Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, Ferdinand de Saussure, and Jacques Lacan). Several essays and interviews with contemporary artists (e.g., Claes Oldenburg, Andy Warhol, Robert Morris, Ed Ruscha, Bruce Conner, Sherrie Levine, Louise Lawler, and Fred Wilson) allude specifically to Duchamp's influence, connecting his readymades to conceptual art and their contemporary practice. Artists' statements about the importance of Duchamp to their work is also the foundation of the exhibition catalogue *Aftershock: The Legacy of the Readymade in Post-war and Contemporary American Art*, which supplements two essays about the influence of Duchamp on contemporary artists with another compilation of artists' statements about his importance to their work, including Allan Kaprow, Joseph Kosuth, Robert Smithson, Joseph Cornell, Louise Lawler, John Baldessari, Robert Rauschenberg, Jeff Koons, and many others.

Part II: Copying after 1960

As indicated above, literary theory played an important role in the conceptual shift around the status of the copy. Perhaps the earliest relevant literary work was Gustave Flaubert's *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*—the "received ideas" he collected in the 1870s were published from 1911 to 1913 and provided a direct literary parallel for Duchamp's readymades. Walter Benjamin's essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" posited that an original work of art lost its "aura" (soul) when photographically copied and distributed. Benjamin's theory was intriguing, but was eventually discounted because of an obvious flaw—the *Mona Lisa*, for instance, by far the most reproduced work of art, has not lost its value, and in fact is more valuable and famous as a result of the reproductions of it. With the proliferation of images on the Internet, however, Benjamin's theory was revived by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Michael Marrinan in *Mapping Benjamin: The Work of Art in the Digital Age*.

The work of Roland Barthes and Jean Baudrillard also played an important role in postmodern understanding of the copy. Barthes's 1967 essay "The Death of the Author" published in *Image, Music, Text* had a profound effect on artists and scholars and influenced the total conceptual shift initiated by the work of Duchamp to an entire generation of postmodernist artists. Barthes shifted the primary responsibility for creating meaning from the original creator of the work to the audience; he also promoted the idea that meaning was contextually determined, thus capable of changing over time. Barthes also allowed for multiple meanings to be held in tension. While Barthes was specifically referring to readers' interpretation of lexical texts, his writings on art, notably fashion and still life paintings, allowed art historians to quickly replace the phrase "death of the author" with "death of the artist." Baudrillard's concept of the simulacra (the condition of a copy without an original) is also relevant for contemporary art based on copies, as the audience may not be aware that the appropriation has taken place and begin to view the copy as an original. For instance, viewers who have become accustomed to seeing endless reproductions of the *Mona Lisa* may decide there is no reason to see the original.

There are three important books that summarize, using different terms and techniques, appropriation in art after 1960. The term "pastiche," which originates in the discipline of music and has been used in art since the seventeenth century, referred historically to a poor academic copy. Richard Dyer, in *Pastiche*, uses the term to refer to imitation more generally, presenting multiple definitions to argue for its flexibility, and uses the related term "pasticcio" as a combination of elements. While the bulk of this book is dedicated to specifically literary pastiche, Dyer blurs distinctions between fine art and popular culture. Importantly, he acknowledges that the entire transaction of pastiche works only if the audience understands how and why the quoting of other authors is happening. A useful diagram summarizes Dyer's division of types of copies into concealed/not concealed, not textually signaled/textually signaled, evaluatively open (to which he ascribes the terms plagiarism, fakes, hoaxes, copies, versions, and pastiche), and evaluatively closed (to which he ascribes the terms emulation, homage, travesty, burlesque, mock epic, and parody). Ingeborg Hoesterey's *Pastiche: Cultural Memory in Art, Film, Literature* also prefers to use the term "pastiche." While her book has chapters on the visual arts, cinema, literature, and popular culture, visual artists appear in all of the chapters—Cindy Sherman is discussed in a chapter on cinema, Ilya Kabakov appears in a chapter on literature, and Yasumasa Morimura is placed in a chapter on pop culture. While it provides a readable general overview of the phenomenon across disciplines, Hoesterey's book is perhaps most useful for its first chapter, which provides a taxonomy of a wide range of historical terms for copying. The decision to list them alphabetically is unfortunate, because it obscures the chronological development of the phenomenon and also glosses the difference between practical and theoretical terms. The list includes appropriation (identified as a term used since the 1980s), bricolage, capriccio, cento, collage, *contrefaçon*, fake, farrago, faux, imitation, montage,

palimpsest, parody, plagiarism, recycling, re-figuration, simulacrum, and travesty. The terms are defined simply, with generally only one source for each.

An anthology approach is used by David Evans in *Appropriation*, a volume in the series *Documents of Contemporary Art* from London's Whitechapel Gallery. This book provides pertinent excerpts from a wide variety of writings by Jean Baudrillard, Walter Benjamin, Nicolas Bourriaud, Douglas Crimp, Guy Debord, Marcel Duchamp, Barbara Kruger, Sherrie Levine, Jeff Wall, and Andy Warhol. The excerpts in each section are arranged chronologically. Evans provides a very short introduction to explain their placement in particular categories; otherwise the texts are left to speak for themselves. The section titled "Precursors" distinguishes between traditional and modern definitions of copying—Flaubert's *Dictionary of Received Ideas*, Duchamp, and Warhol are included here. The rest of the book is about contemporary practice. It starts with agitprop—a term that combines agitation and propaganda associated with communist ideas—although not everyone in this section takes a communist stance. Also included are simulation; feminist critique; postcolonialism; postcommunism; and postproduction, which includes Nicholas Bourriaud's "Deejaying and Contemporary Art" and an essay on Douglas Gordon's *24 Hour Psycho*. The book closes with "Appraisals," where excerpts from Benjamin Buchloh's "Parody and Appropriation" and Douglas Crimp's "Appropriating Appropriation" are placed.

Two prominent cultural historians write about aspects of copying by operationalizing the theoretical approaches of Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and semiotics. Mieke Bal, in *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History* links appropriation (although she only rarely uses that term) to the revival of theatrical works termed neo-baroque. Caravaggio, as a prime example of the seventeenth-century Catholic version of the baroque style, not only provides an example of specific visual characteristics, but also provides fertile ground for interventions addressing religion and homosexuality. Bal's broad approach considers both appropriations of stylistic elements of Carvaggio's baroque (theatrical lighting, gestures, rich surfaces, three-dimensional spaces, and the presence of drapery) and the self-reflexivity that existed in his many works that utilized self-portraiture, which easily lends itself to an exploration of both mirrors and the myth of Narcissus. Bal admits that not all the artists she has included would even say that Caravaggio was an influence (e.g., Ana Mendieta, Andres Serrano, Jeannette Christensen, Mona Hatoum, and Carrie Mae Weems), but several address or copy his work directly (e.g., Dottie Attie, George Deem, Ken Aptekar, and Jeannette Christensen). In *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles*, Hillel Schwartz declares the death of the concept of originality. Using ethnographic sources, including data on twins, Schwartz assigns value to reproductive technologies, copies, replicas, and simulations in photography, painting, and xerographic printmaking.

Copying as Activism

Some artists conduct appropriations from earlier artists to create conditions of irony, parody, or satire, conditions themselves associated with postmodernism. Appropriation can also be used as a critique of an artistic or social issue. In the 1960s, groups participated in a series of movements designed to protest their placement on the margins of artistic practice. They also gravitated toward media, like video, which in its newness seemed free of the white patriarchal structure attached to painting and sculpture. Artists from these groups were also quick to operationalize appropriation as a means of criticizing the white Western canon, realizing how it could be destabilized by copying and recontextualizing. Maud Lavin's *Cut with the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch*, focuses on how Höch used media images to reconfigure and reposition multiple feminine, gender, and ethnographic identities in collages and photomontages. While most previous scholarship on Höch focused on her overtly political Dada work, Lavin instead focuses on the artist's later work, which deconstructed and recontextualized gender and ethnographic identities and provided an important bridge to the feminist project of the 1970s. Höch is important not only for her collages, but also for her scrapbooks, which document the media-driven images of women she sought to reconceptualize. Her more contemporary counterpart Barbara Kruger began as a graphic designer and then moved into fine art while retaining a strong design aesthetic—most of her works feature photographs borrowed from magazines and recontextualized with powerful text. *Barbara Kruger* includes an interview with the artist, an essay by graphic designer Steven Heller, and several other essays that examine her deconstructive and recombinative practices.

Other contemporary artists who need to be mentioned specifically in this context are Judy Chicago and Joyce Kozloff. In *The Dinner Party*, Judy Chicago documents the details of each of the women who have place settings at the table at the centerpiece of this famous installation, most of which contain appropriations. Joyce Kozloff's *Patterns of Desire*, which includes a short essay by feminist art historian Linda Nochlin, illustrates a series of drawings by Kozloff that recombine and recontexualize works from earlier eras and cultures, including Greek vases, Japanese shunga prints, Indian erotic miniatures, French rococo, European religious paintings, and Picasso's cubism. Kozloff, as a woman copying these works originally made by and for men, forces reconsideration of the meaning of nude women and sexual encounters, repositioning them from a place of passivity and objectification to a place of power.

The exhibition *The Deconstructive Impulse: Women Artists Reconfigure the Signs of Power, 1973-1991*, with a catalogue by Nancy Princenthal, focuses on works that deconstruct dominant paradigms using appropriation and reconfiguration of female stereotypes from housewife to sex kitten. Princenthal explains how feminist theory adapted the deconstruction of Jacques Derrida and Roland Barthes. Among the many artists included are Dara Birnbaum, who appropriated and recontextualized images of women from television, including *Hollywood Squares* and *Wonder Woman*; Barbara Kruger (discussed above); Sherrie Levine, who made direct photographic copies of art by men to problematize the fame and money acquired by male compared to female artists; and Cindy Sherman, whose self-reflexive work always includes her own appearance. Her series of photographs titled *Untitled Film Stills* were a critique of the passive objectified fear of women in Alfred Hitchcock movies; she also appropriated famous works in a series on art history, similarly questioning the sexualization and objectification of women in that context.

Copying as Homage Post-1960

Academic training of artists continues to include the practice of copying of masterworks, as does the related practice of copying as a form of homage. Two notable

exhibitions captured this practice post-1960. Jean Lipman and Richard Marshall's *Art about Art* toured the United States in 1978-79. An introductory essay by well-known art dealer Leo Steinberg gave several historical instances of works that are inspired by or that borrow compositions including Michelangelo's borrowing from Hellenistic period sculptures and Rembrandt's paintings inspired by late-Renaissance woodcuts. The exhibition was thematically divided into sections (work depicting art in galleries and works featuring palettes, brushes, stretchers), works inspired by old masters (e.g., Da Vinci, Velasquez, and Rembrandt), work inspired by modern masters (e.g., Manet, Monet, van Gogh, Cézanne, Piet Mondrian, and Picasso), and smaller sections treating works inspired by colonial period American art and recent American art, including Rauschenberg's *Erased de Kooning*. Featured artists included Saul Steinberg, Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, Mel Ramos, Tom Wesselman, Larry Rivers, Robert Rauschenberg, Joseph Cornell, Audrey Flack, Robert Colescott, Masami Teraoka, George Segal, and John Baldessari.

Encounters: New Art from Old, by Richard Morphet, was a millennium exhibition project for the National Gallery of London. Twenty-four contemporary artists were invited to make new work in response to master works in the collection. A short introduction explains the history of copying in both modern and postmodern contexts. The National Gallery collection was an appropriate location for this project because of its breadth. The contemporary artists responded to masterpieces by Johannes Vermeer, Rembrandt, Turner, Monet, J.-A.-D Ingres, Seurat, Titian, Duccio, Nicolas Poussin, and John Constable. The bulk of the catalogue consists of essays about the engagement of individual artists with works from the collection. Richard Morphet pens an essay that weaves together the new work and the source of inspiration from the collection, integrating the creative and thinking processes of the contemporary artist as appropriate. Among the many artists who participated were Louise Bourgeois, Anthony Caro, Francesco Clemente, David Hockney, Jasper Johns, Anselm Kiefer, Claes Oldenburg, Paula Rego, Bill Viola, and Jeff Wall.

The field of graphic design, like most visual expression, has depended quite heavily on appropriation since the 1980s. Two books, written from the competing perspectives of education versus design criticism, give insight into appropriation in this field. Steven Heller, in *Borrowed Design: Use and Abuse of Historical Form*, is most interested in helping young designers distinguish between inspiration and plagiarism. He positions the history of "borrowing" at the very beginning of graphic design, in the history of typography, by demonstrating how Renaissance styles of types have been transformed into contemporary counterparts. Heller names parody and nostalgia as the key reasons that designers borrow style and content from earlier designers, and identifies design "eclecticism" as a hallmark of postmodern design. He adds chapters with examples of "good" and "bad" borrowings, not from a copyright perspective, but rather to demonstrate if two different styles are likely to be combined effectively or inherently produce a jarring effect on the viewer.

As opposed to Heller's cautionary and practical approach, Rick Poynor, in *No More Rules: Graphic Design and Postmodernism*, is more interested in defining and celebrating characteristics of postmodern design influenced by technology. He argues that what used to be called new wave design—design especially influenced by the Apple Computer—and the work of April Greiman, who began combining an intentionally pixilated appearance with borrowed content, is the starting point for this type of design. Poynor has chapters on deconstructionist design influenced by Jacques Derrida's literary theories, where he includes work from the Cranbrook Academy, David Carson, and typography foundry Emigré, as well as early DIY/punk, and appropriation that is focused most closely on the appearance of the phenomenon in conjunction with the music industry of the 1970s and its subsequent adoption by Neville Brody, Paula Scher, and Tibor Kalman, all of whom would take a more social activist approach in their work. Additional chapters focus on the use of technology to foster designs with a layered appearance; and explore the limits of authorship, and the extension of social activism by the Guerrilla Girls, Jonathan Barnbrook, and Tibor Kalman, with special emphasis on the latter's work for the provocative *Colors* magazine.

John Welchman, in *Art after Appropriation: Essays on Art in the 1990s*, summarizes the role of the curator and the museum as well as relevant theorists (e.g., Gerardo Mosquera, Roland Barthes, and Walter Benjamin) applied to a wide range of literature (e.g., Douglas Crimp, Rosalind Krauss, and Hal Foster). Welchman expands the concept of appropriation to include the serial production of Monet and argues that realism can be interpreted as appropriation of everyday life. Among the artists included are Barbara Kruger, Jeff Koons, and Haim Steinbach, but a significant portion of the book is devoted to what Welchman terms "counter-appropriations" by non-Western cultures, with a chapter each for Cody Hyun Choi (Korean American) and Steve Fagin (his experimental narratives Welchman considers with James Cliffort's theory of "travelling cultures"). A chapter focused on money compares the topic as treated by Marcel Duchamp, Andy Warhol, and Robert Morris to Louis Hock, Liz Sisco, and David Avalos's 1993 San Diego *Art Rebate* piece, where the artists gave ten dollars each to undocumented immigrant workers as they crossed the border from Mexico to California. What Welchman means by the phrase "after appropriation" is advocacy for an increasingly critical use of appropriation, a self-conscious reappropriation, and cultural reappropriation (counter-appropriations), which would become more common in the postcolonial period.

Cultural and Transcultural Appropriation in the Postcolonial Period

Contemporary postcolonial theory pioneered by Homi K. Bhaba in *The Location of Culture* addresses the phenomenon of cultural appropriation from the view of the colonized. As those who were colonized struggle to reclaim their culture, their efforts are almost always transcultural—most if not all acts of colonialism resulted in a mixing or hybridization of the cultures of both the colonizer and colonized. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao edited *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, a collection of essays that reflect the multiple modes and complex nature of issues surrounding cultural borrowing. The editors provide a visual framework in the introduction that divides what they call "cultural transmission" into broad categories of appropriation or assimilation, as a function of power dynamics (i.e., industrial, ideological, economic, political, institutional, and military) that result in cultural imperialism and cultural erosion. The essays are then gathered by genre (i.e., music, art and narrative, popular culture,

and scientific knowledge); there are also sections on colonial/postcolonial discourse and tangible cultural property. The majority of the essays treat specifically Native American and African American topics. Kwame Dawes's essay "Re-appropriating Cultural Appropriation" proposes flipping the script so the nondominant culture is more prominent.

A number of artists use appropriation in their work to enact the postcolonial condition. Ni Haifeng, a Chinese artist who lives in Holland, has inscribed his body with designs commonly found on the "blue and white" porcelain commonly known as "china" in the series *Self-Portrait as a Part of the Porcelain Export History* (1999-2001), enacting the complicated trade relationship between Holland and China. Yinka Shonibare, who was born in London to Nigerian parents, uses mass-produced textiles from the United Kingdom and Holland that appear African (but are not) to clothe mannequins and sometimes live models in staged constructions that address postcolonial hybridity. Both of these artists, along with Johannes Phokela and Fred Wilson, are included in Salah Hassan and Iftikhar Dadi's *Unpacking Europe: Towards a Critical Reading*. This important book addresses the postcolonial condition from multiple viewpoints. Positioned in two parts—a collection of essays and then a catalogue of artists, the essays treat the role of race, class, and gender in the formation of the Aryan model of Greek origins, interrogate the foundation of national identities based on the concept of the "foreigner," and explore the implications of postcolonial practice on notions of whiteness and borders. Diaspora and transglobalism are also treated. The first portion closes with a pair of essays by Jimmie Durham, "Belief in Europe," and Fredric Jameson, "Europe and Its Others." Among the artists included in the section are several who utilize appropriation (or maybe more appropriately, reappropriation).

Yasumasa Morimura speaks to authorship, the commodification of cultures by the West, gender identity, and the persistent invisibility of the "other" in the history of art, and links postcolonialism to postmodernism. At the same time, however, he demonstrates a profound appreciation for European artists' works, a condition that characterizes the complex nature of transcultural appropriation, in the nineteenth century and today. The exhibition *Quotation: Re-presenting History* included Yasumasa Morimura, David Buchan, Sorel Cohen, Dany Leriche, and Cindy Sherman. The catalogue includes essays by Shirley Madill, "Construc(ct)ing the Origins of Art," and Linda Hutcheon, "Scare Quotes: Irony versus Nostalgia." *Yasumasa Morimura: historia del arte. Madrid: Fundación Telefónica* has a short essay by Pilar Gonzalo, "The Body as Sign," which explains the artist's reappropriation of Western works combined with the artist's knowledge of the Western appropriation of Japanese works. Paul Franklin, in the essay "Orienting the Asian Male Body in the Photography of Yasumasa Morimura," in Deborah Bright, ed., *The Passionate Camera: Photography and Bodies of Desire*, gives a short, pithy account of the gender and racial plays Morimura makes in his work.

Artist Fred Wilson has completed a series of interventions in museum spaces as a form of institutional critique. Largely inspired by the artist's years of experience as a museum professional, these interventions typically consist of the rearranging of objects from the existing collection with the goal of creating new didactic materials to affect a recontextualization. In these works, Wilson uses curatorial practice to develop provocative juxtapositions of objects to redress the colonizer's appropriation of the cultural artifact as an act of power. For instance, in *The Spiral of Art History*, a silver tea service was paired with a Navajo concho belt in a vitrine labeled "nineteenth century American silver." This enacted the displacement of Native Americans by the English colonists and criticized the segregation of these pieces into two completely different Indianapolis collections (the tea service from the Indianapolis Museum of Art; the belt from the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art). Wilson does not consider his interventions to be collaborations with the host institution, but the specific objects Wilson placed in the exhibition allude to the larger community's historical development and contemporary values. Wilson's development of these curatorial strategies is documented in *Mining the Museum* and in *The Museum: Mixed Metaphors* by Patterson Sims. Maurice Berger's *Fred Wilson: Objects and Installations, 1979-2000* provides an excellent summary of the artist's development of curatorial interventions. James Putnam's *Art and Artifact. The Museum as Medium* treats artistic interventions in the museum by Wilson and also Herbert Distel, Louise Lawler, Joseph Kosuth, Thomas Struth, Candida Höfer, Haim Steinbach, and Group Material.

Lothar Baumgarten's installation *Unsettled Objects* (1968-69), described in Kynaston McShine's *The Museum as Muse: Artists Reflect*, used artifacts and photographic reproductions of objects from the unchanged Victorian natural history/anthropological collection of The Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, England, which "evokes the past tale of Western Culture's attempt, through its museums, to represent the lives of cultures that did not share its taxonomies and informing assumptions."[3] Baumgarten added paired terms to his photographs, such as claimed/accumulated, selected/fetishized, displayed/imagined, and climatized/confined, to help audiences problematize the history of a museum formation that took functional objects, removed them from their context, aestheticized them, and "paradoxically preserved them while also depriving them of their history and life."[4]

Several significant publications have discussed the combining of curatorial and anthropological practices as providing a possible solution for redressing the effects of museum formation in the colonial period. Beatrice von Bismarck, Jörn Schafaff, and Thomas Weski, editors of *Cultures of the Curatorial*, present Anton Vidokle's article "Art without Artists?" in which he claims that curators have historically and unnecessarily excluded artists from agency over their own work. Hal Foster made a significant contribution to the shift toward combining curatorial and anthropological strategies in his "The Artist as Ethnographer" in *The Return of the Real: The Avant-garde at the Turn of the Century*. In *Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics*, Foster described acts of copying by Louise Lawler, Hans

A number of artists use appropriation in their work to enact the postcolonial condition.

Haacke, Allan McCollum, and Barbara Kruger as subversive signs and the work of Andy Warhol and Sherrie Levine as indicators of cultural resistance. *The Subjects of Art History*, edited by Mark Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, has three relevant essays. First, Stephen Bann's "Art History and Museums" discusses the historical precedent of the cabinet of curiosities (a part of colonial practice) and the "museum effect" that makes objects within the spaces into art by virtue of the institution's role, which, once identified, can then be disrupted by contemporary artists. To Bann, Barthes's concept of the "death of the author" works differently in objects acquired during colonial conquests, declaring that museum collections formed as a result are sites of either dystopia or utopia. Second, Gerald McMaster's "Museums and Galleries as Sites for Artistic Intervention" discusses his own interventions in gallery spaces, specifically *Savage Graces and (Im)Polite Gazes* installed in an anthropology museum using interventionist curatorial strategies. Third, James D. Herbert, in "Passing between Art History and Postcolonial Theory," discusses what he calls "colonial appropriation" in the context of Homi Bhaba's and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's theories. Herbert uses the transformation of the Musée d'Ethnography du Trocadéro to the Musée de l'Homme in Paris as a case study of the shift from colonial appropriation to postcolonial recontextualization.

Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel's *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds* is a collection of essays about the role of the artist, museum, and curator in the global period. The project proposes the reconstruction of identities based on knowledge of the colonial/postcolonial dynamic. Inspired by Arjun Appadurai's ethnoscapes, it is a relatively new process that integrates anthropological theory and critical practice. This text defines global art as postcolonial and explains that appropriation in this context becomes a translation or rewriting—a type of reappropriation of the original circumstances in order to change meaning. Included is a section with a large number of artists whom the authors have determined are engaging in these significant cultural shifts. This book suggests a possible trajectory for work in the future where an increased transparency and a sense of global responsibility will accompany a re-empowerment of the people who had previously been colonized.

Conclusion

THE GOAL OF THIS ESSAY HAS BEEN TO provide a broader context for the postmodern phenomenon of appropriation by tracing the role of the copy from its origins in academic artistic education to the present, providing a framework for understanding how art history, criticism, theory, and practice have documented changes in the understanding of the role of the copy as it evolved from a technique designed to educate academically trained artists to a conceptual and potentially activist intervention. Individual artists and curators alike continue to view copying as a method to pay homage to the past or as a tool for postcolonial critique. One can see from the scope of this essay that there is a wealth of information, both practical and theoretical, to be explored and contributions that continue to be made to this subject.

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Notes

1. Thorsten Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*, Modern Library, 1934, p. 23.
2. Edward Said, *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books, 1978 (CH, Apr'79), p. 8.
3. Kynaston McShine, *The Museum as Muse: Artists Reflect*. Museum of Modern Art, 1999, p. 18.
4. Ibid.

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Letters

To the Editor:

In expressing concern about my review of his book, *A Prehistory of South America* (CH, Feb'15, 52-3180), Jerry D. Moore asserts that I must be unaware of the evidence for human sacrifice by the Moche of coastal Peru. Nothing could be further from the case. I have taught courses on the Precolumbian civilizations of South America for two decades and am thoroughly conversant with the results of archaeological research at Moche sites. What is hyperbolic about the author's treatment of the issue is his decision to characterize these actions as "among the darkest acts of brutality known in human history" (p. 321).

There are no shortage of "dark" or "brutal" episodes in contemporary and ancient societies, Western or non-Western. States commonly define legitimate and illegitimate uses of force or violence against their own members or outsiders. On what basis, therefore, are we to evaluate the brutality of the Moche? In terms of scale? Frequency? Forms of injury? Motives? As described on pages 457-459 of the book, the Inca sacrificed children as young as six years old by suffocating them or possibly burying them alive. Is this less or more brutal than the Moche practices?

As an anthropologist and an educator, my goal is to engage students and the public in a discussion of the full range of social, economic, and political practices, cultural beliefs, environmental adaptations, and historical developments in order to achieve an understanding of ancient or prehistoric societies. Textbooks that introduce their readers to this information are greatly to be desired, but only if they do so in a way that promotes analysis and understanding of the system out of which such practices as human sacrifice develop.

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